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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The Early Villa at Masseria Ciccotti (90 B.C.-II century A.D)

BY

Joel Christianson ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

IN

Classical Archaeology

Department of Classics

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 1995

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of Canada

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Early Villa at Masseria Ciccotti (90 B.C.-II century A.D.) submitted by Joel Christianson in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Classical Archaeology.

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Date: December 20, 1994

Alla gente di Oppido Lucano. Specialmente Antonio Savino, Davide Cervello e loro famiglie.

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Abstract

The early villa at Masseria Ciccotti is located in the upper Bradano valley in near the town of Oppido Lucano and dates to the first decade of the I century. Through an analysis of the features of the villa it has been determined that Masseria Ciccotti was a large *villa rustica* where cereal and wool processing activities took place. Comparative analysis with other rural sites in different parts of Italy have shown that it is a unusually large villa. The appearance of the site at the beginning of the I century B.C. mirrors a similar development of large villas in other parts of Italy at the same time. Within the settlement activity in the upper Bradano valley, however, Masseria Ciccotti has a unique position as the first large villa to develop in the valley plain. Its development in this geographically marginal area from Rome implies sufficient economic return from activities to sustain itself within an economically undeveloped area and an almost complete absence of direct involvement with Rome.

Introduction
Location and Brief Description of Masseria Ciccotti

The site of Masseria Ciccotti is located in Basilicata in southern Italy along the upper Bradano valley near the towns of Oppido Lucano and Genzano (Fig. 1, Genzano is 2km east of Banzi; Plate 1.1, 1.2). These towns are situated on the top of the first portion of the Appenines surrounding the Bradano river while the site is located nearer the Bradano on the lower ground which is referred to as the *Fossa Bradanica*[1].

The *Fossa Bradanica* is a broad geological divide which separates the *Murge* on the south east from the Appenines on the south west[2]. Like the *Murge*, the *Fossa Bradanica* is made up primarily of limestone.[3] Unlike the *Murge*, however, the *Fossa Bradanica* has been lowered by faulting and then covered by a series of marine deposits including a soft sandy limestone called calcaranite, or 'calce' by the locals.[4] Since this limestone is easily quarried and dries hard, it is a valuable building material.[5] Along with the fertile marine deposits the area has been more recently covered by alluvial

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[1]Small 1991, p.205.

[2]ibid., p.205.

[3]ibid., p.205.

[4]ibid., p.205.

[5]ibid., p.205.

deposits making it suitable for cultivation.[6] Although there is still a great deal of agricultural activity, primarily cereal crops, there is very little running water in the area. In fact, even during periods of heavy rainfall, no water is visible in the river bed of the Bradano.

A gradual decline in the *Fossa* along the course of the Bradano towards the Gulf of Taranto enables a view as far away as Gravina 45 kilometres away (Plate 2.1). Terrain along this decline consists of small rolling hills covered by a few trees and fields given primarily to cereal crops. Until one gets about fifteen to twenty kilometres east of the source of the river the hills tend to be around 250-300 metres higher than the river bed. After this point the hills surrounding the river gradually become more shallow until they reach the sea.

Masseria Ciccotti is found approximately two kilometres south of the Bradano at a point about five kilometres from its source. This portion of the Bradano, flanked by the Appenines, is nestled in a valley six to seven kilometres across.

Within a one kilometre radius of the site there is a relatively flat plain which slopes gradually in the direction of the flow of the Bradano. Following this east-west slope there is a small creek whose northern valley wall marks the southern extent of the site. Above this precipitous valley wall, looking to the south, there is an excellent view of the

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[6]Small 1991, p.205.

fields and the hills which enclose the Bradano to the south.

This plain also gradually slopes down to the north towards the bed of the Bradano giving it a higher elevation than most of the surrounding parts of the valley. Only to the west does the plain get any higher and since in this direction the terrain is more undulous, but still low and flat enough to be considered part of the *Fossa Bradanica*, Masseria Ciccotti has a commanding position within the valley giving easy access to the nearby fields, streams and forests. Its position also conveniently isolates the site because the only direction from which it is possible to descend to the site is the west.

The landscape of the valley surrounding Masseria Ciccotti has changed very little from ancient times as is evident from the number of sites which display structures that are still visible above ground. A total of four sites with above ground structures have been located within a 35-40 square kilometre area (Fig. 2): Trigneto D'Oppido (site 6), Moriggine (site 8), San Gilio and Masseria Ciccotti.[7] San Gilio has a number of well preserved ruins that, in a few cases, are preserved to a height of around 3.5m. This state of site preservation would not have been possible if the landscape had changed significantly from ancient times.

Along the entrance road to the farm house in use at the present time stands a large stone and concrete structure which was used as a farm house within the last few hundred years.

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[7]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, p.327

The upper level of the house contains a few rooms with ceilings about four metres high still filled with some rusted antique bedroom furniture. The ground floor consists of two vaulted rooms placed side-by-side and connected by a small door at the centre of the dividing wall. Today the upper floor is abandoned while the lower floor is used for farm equipment storage.

Upon closer examination it is clear that the upper level and the east face of the ground level were additions to a Roman *castellum aquae* or cistern (Fig. 3). Roman construction is visible on all sides of the modern farm house. The vaulted rooms inside the cistern are the actual holding tanks. Between these tanks is a wall which alleviated some of the outward pressure on the outer walls caused by the water within. On the exterior three support buttresses are visible along each of the walls. The line where the Roman construction ends and the more modern construction begins is clearly visible, especially on the west side where the line of the vaulted roof of the castellum aquae still exists. Also visible on the west side is the hole or *specus* into which flowed the water from the adjacent aqueduct. A small portion of a vault extends out towards the west from just below the specus. This is a portion of the aqueduct which supplied the site with water.

Scarce ceramic evidence around the cistern limits its dating to what can be based upon hypothetical similarities to

structures from other sites which date to the mid to late imperial period, such as Gioiosa Ionica in Calabria.[8]

From its source near the town of Oppido Lucano the aqueduct which supplied the site ran virtually parallel to the stream which flows past the site. Some of the mortared stones used in its construction are still visible to the west of the cistern. Following the path of some of these mortared stones and observing the lie of the land help recreate the path the aqueduct once took.

To the north of the cistern and closer to the creek valley are some ancient structures which have been incorporated into the farm. Well preserved remnants of these structures have been used in the construction of a tractor garage and chicken coop used in ongoing agricultural operations in the area. Pieces of ancient walls, up to seventy centimetres in height, have been incorporated into the walls of these buildings. Underneath the chicken coop and tractor garage is a very well preserved room in groin vault construction. The only access to this room is via an outdoor staircase located to the immediate east of the garage entrance. Buttresses supporting the underground wall or perhaps the remains of engaged pilasters are visible at the floor level.

In order to get an idea of the size of the site there were two years of field survey performed by studying five by

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[8]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, p.313.

five metre squares in the vicinity of the visible architectural remains while noting surface features and examining any artifacts which were found. After this, test trenches were dug to the south-west of the garage and chicken coop above slope from the remains of an apsidal structure about 7.5 metres wide. Then, beginning in 1990 and continuing every summer since then, larger scale excavation and field survey of the surrounding area have taken place. Geological survey of the topography has given an idea of the spatial extent of the site by studying any geological alterations to the topography, such as a change in the course of the creek or any slumping in the ground above the creek valley, which may have occured over the past two millenia. Magnetometer testing performed in the summer and fall of 1993 gave information valuable for the excavation of future test trenches to the east and north of the farm buildings.

It is difficult to say how large the site was because different areas at different times were built upon and then abandoned. Before the size of the site can be determined for any one time period a secure chronology must be established. Until then the size of the site will be taken to include all of the visible features; whether they exist above the present ground level or whether they are visible from the excavation which has taken place.

To the north the limit has been determined by a bath complex which was excavated in the 1920's. It lies about ten

metres east-north-east of the castellum aquae (not in site plan). Initially thought to be merely a large pit filled with garbage from the present farmer-tenant, it was later discovered to be the remains of a bath building. Although it has not yet been fully re-excavated the plan made in the 1920's snows the use of apsidal rooms, a typical feature of baths from the second century A.D..[9]

Using the line of the northern wall of the bath complex as the line for the northern edge of the site, the next feature used as a limit to the site, after crossing about 120 metres of unexcavated ground, is the *fullonica*, or wool processing portion of the site. The *fullonica* includes an *opus signinum* lined basin with an overflow drain and a terracotta pipe running east-west in line with the cistern[10]. Most of the material from this area ranges from the I century B.C. to the II century A.D. and includes I century B.C.-I century A.D. Italian Terra Sigillata, Augustan lamps and pottery stamps, II century A.D. lamps and African cooking wares. A small number of pieces date from the III-V centuries A.D. An infant burial inside a jug dating to the mid to late fourth century A.D. gives a *terminus post quem* for the use of the basin[11]. Using the results of the magnetometer survey, some test trenches excavated about 25m west of the *fullonica*

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[9]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, p.318.

[10]ibid., pp.323-324.

[11]ibid., p.324.

revealed more walls of similar construction; however, the relationship of these walls to the basin is uncertain.

Situated about seventy metres to the south are some unidentified *in situ* architectural fragments which have yet to be excavated. Found on the slope of the creek valley while touring the site and believed to be walls of some kind, they serve as the south-eastern boundary of the site.

Turning west while using the creek valley as the southern limit of the site we come across a test trench excavated in 1990 which revealed at least two levels of mosaic pavement and ceramic material from the I century B.C. to the V century A.D.. After continuing west for approximately thirty-five metres we come across the remains of the structure which supported the creek valley walls as can be seen from below in this steep portion of the valley (Plate 2.2). Just as the features described in the preceding paragraph, these walls were visible before any excavation had taken place. About twenty metres to the west there is another wall fragment at the end of a gradual slope. Unlike the first portion of the wall mentioned, this fragment is located down slope from a number of structures belonging to the residential complex.

Although the ancient landscape immediately surrounding the wall is not certain at the present time, the fragment at the end of the gradual slope seems to fit in with the remainder of the slope terrain to the west which has a very similar gradient. This could be an indication that the

ancient landscape in this area was similar if not identical to the present day landscape. Consequently, the fact that this wall was built along a gradually sloping cliff suggests that it served as a reinforcement all along the valley in order to provide a strong foundation for the structures above[12].

Continuing to the west we come upon the residential complex or *pars urbana*. This portion of the site is made up of a number of architectural structures which comprise a total of 19 rooms. The western extent of excavation in this area has revealed the line of a wall connected to two brick columns and a pilaster (Fig. 3, Section A; Fig. 4; Plate 3). To the immediate south are rooms 18 and 19 around which are more architectural fragments (Fig. 3, Section B; Fig. 4).

Further to the west is the largest continuous excavated portion of the site (Fig. 3, Section C; Fig. 5). The rooms in this portion of the site display a degree of decoration and monumentality which is consistent with a large residential complex.

The details of this portion of the site will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

The roughly rectangular shape of the site is completed by turning north from the western end of the residential complex and travelling about 75 metres to the *castellum aquae*. This line, which passes through unexcavated territory, marks the

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[12]As mentioned earlier, slope erosion in the area is a problem during the heavy autumn and early winter rains.

western border of the site. Using the approximated lengths of these borders a rough area of 10 800 square metres for the site can be given.

Chapter 1
Date, Description and Function of the Early Villa

The chronological phases of the early villa at Masseria Ciccotti have been determined by the analysis of ceramic evidence, levels and construction techniques. Ceramic evidence was used to supply dates to the early stratigraphic levels. Afterwards, the early levels were associated with the architectural remains within the same stratigraphic context: thus we are able to determine which building techniques and which rooms and walls belonged to the early phase of the villa.

The earliest Roman pottery, as distinct from Lucanian, at the site is imported, so-called grey-glaze from Metapontum. There are very few fragments of this pottery found so far. Most of the examples of it were found as slope wash directly below the terrace. Grey-glaze appears at the very end of the III century B.C. and vanishes by c. 50 B.C. shortly before Italian Terra Sigillata wares flooded the market. Given the paucity of grey-glaze found we can postulate that the presence was not one which can be associated with the major buildings.

A marked quantitative increase in the amount of ceramic finds occurs with both glazed and unglazed thin wall ware: thin walled ware, made at different production centres in Italy, begins at c. 90 B.C. and continues for most of that century. Italian Terra Sigillata wares are present at the site in great quantity from the very initial stages of its

production at c. 30 B.C. when the red gloss ware was undecorated. All the areas in which Italian Terra Sigillata is found are marked by walls constructed in a technique which, as a result of the ceramic associations, we call 'early' and thus pertain to the early villa.

Characteristic of the early construction technique is the use of smooth, unmortared stones in the foundations, which come right up to the floor levels, on top of which are the walls made in uneven courses of mortared cut stones. Analysis of these structures indicates that the general structural plan of the area changed very little from its initial Roman phase, the beginning of the I century B.C. and continuing to the IV century A.D.. Existing rooms were either re-built, repaired or blocked up.

A test area excavated in 1990 about 40m south of the *fullonica* revealed at least two layers of mosaic flooring which were found in context with I century B.C. Italian Terra Sigillata and walls consistent with the early phase of the villa. This fine ware pottery is indicative of habitation levels on the site which display some decoration.

Travelling clockwise (west) we find the eastern end of a courtyard (Section A, Fig. 3; features #1-#17, Fig. 4; Plate 3) which was likely part of the *peristyle* of the residential quarters of the villa. This part of the courtyard is delimited by two brick columns and a pilaster which are connected by walls built in the 'early' construction technique

described above. Excavation of numerous fragments of fluted and flat stucco and recovery of many painted wall plaster pieces during surface survey prior to excavation suggest not only that the columns and the pilaster were decorated, but that the entire courtyard area exhibited some degree of decoration.

Below the courtyard (south) are two rooms (rooms 18 and 19 or Section B, Fig. 3; Features #24-43, Fig. 4) which exhibit various different construction phases built in the construction technique of the early villa. These rooms also mark the beginning of a row of rooms that runs clockwise along the top of the small creek valley located to the south of the site. Underneath deposits of fine ware, both of these rooms yielded mosaic floors and habitation debris, such as coarse ware and cooking ware ceramics (still undated), which raises the possibility that this area could have been near to a kitchen. Painted plaster has also been found in small quantities in and around the two rooms suggesting that, like the area above it (north), there was some decoration found here.

Travelling clockwise (west) along the valley slope from Room 18 are a number of large rooms (rooms 8-17 or Section C, Fig. 3; Fig. 5; Plate 4) facing the south towards the sun and the view of the valley. Rooms 8, 10, 11, 13, 15 and 16 also contain habitation material and all contain mosaic floors. Since the pavement in Room 8 shows at least one mosaic level

below a later mosaic and since the general plan of these rooms did not change after the early phase (see above p.12), it is possible that all of these rooms had mosaic flooring during the early phase. The marble flooring in rooms 13, 14 and 17 may also belong to the early villa. The use of marble in floor decoration along with the fact that many cut marble pieces were found during excavation raises the possibility that marble may also have been used to decorate the walls.

It has been suggested that the thickness of the marble fragments found on the site is related to the use of the marble.[13] Thick marble is more likely to have been used in pavement since it would be able to withstand more downward pressure, while thin marble pieces would have been used in wall decoration. At the end of the 1992 excavation season marble fragments ranged in thickness from 6 to 33 millimetres[14], indicating that marble for both floor and wall decoration existed.

Continuing clockwise through a corridor (room 11) we come to room 4 where recent excavation (October/November 1994) has revealed a *hypocaust* below a poorly preserved mosaic floor. Together with room 4 a basin found within the small apsidal structure above room 12 constitute portion of a bath area. Room 12 contains habitation debris and a later mosaic which may have covered an earlier one as occurs in room 8.

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[13]Flower-Gypsei 1994, p.74.

[14]ibid., Table 2.

Room 1 also yielded habitation debris and is paved in mosaic flooring. The discovery of an Ionic column capital where the walls of rooms 1, 12 and 4 may have come together but are now destroyed, along with a terracotta antefix recovered in the apsidal structure, suggest that monumental decoration was found in this area. The Ionic capital probably belongs to a later phase on the basis of its evolved decoration but the antefix is datable to the first phase of the villa. Marble pieces, perhaps used to decorate the walls, were found here as well.

Above room 1 the absence of any structures has indicated that a patch of pebble pavement may have constituted part of an open space, the extent of which has not yet been determined by excavation. This open space probably extended up (north) before it stopped somewhere below the *castellum aquae*.

The presence of habitation material within all of the rooms described above and the abundant evidence for decoration and monumental architecture suggest that these structures constitute part of the residence quarters or *pars urbana* of the villa.

Though the remains of the *castellum aquae*, located 45m to the north of room 4 at the end of an *aqueduct* whose path can be partially reconstructed, date to the II century A.D.[15], it was almost certainly the same location of the cistern which provided water for the baths of the early villa.

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[15]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, p.317.

The orientation of a drain in the *fullonica* or wool processing basin indicates that the *castellum aquae* also provided water for this area of the site found after continuing clockwise (east) for approximately 140m from the *castellum aquae*. The walls surrounding the *fullonica* were built in the construction technique considered to be part of the early villa. The manufacturing which would have taken place near the *fullonica* and the dense scatter of *dolia* (large storage jars) on the surface surrounding the area indicate that this was the *pars rustica* of the villa.

These structures give the dimensions of the early villa at 120m along the southern extent from the 1990 test trench to the western end of the *pars urbana*, 135m along the northern extent from the west wall of the *castellum aquae* to the eastern end of the *pars rustica* and 75m and 85m along the western and eastern ends respectively.

Excavation over much of the site is many years away from completion. Nonetheless we can imagine, on the basis of the early architecture, what the plan of the villa during the early I century B.C. might have looked like once we have considered different types and examples of villa plans.

Roman villas differ from one another on the basis of their plan and their function. Two basic types of villa plan, the *porticus* and the *peristlye*, are used with slight modifications in leisure and production villas[16], with the

[16]McKay 1976, in general.

latter more frequently using the *peristyle* plan.

Porticus villas often took advantage of the seclusion and panorama offered by steep cliffs. Consequently, when they were built they had to use whatever level ground was available. The residential portion of the villa may have been located on a section of land on which an irregularly shaped structure could be built. From this portion of the villa one would have passed through a long narrow corridor built on the steep portion of the precipice to a different portion of the villa on which another structure could be built. These villas were usually found on the coast of Campania and were the residences of wealthy owners and could span over 50m and consist of several sections on different levels, like the villa of Demecuta on Capri.[17]

More common, however, were the *peristyle* villas which could be over 150m on their longest side and were generally not much less than 30m on the shortest side. From the entrance way or *vestibulum* of this type of villa one would have passed into the *atrium* which usually contained an *impluvium* (basin) to collect rain water which fell through an opening above. Surrounding the *atrium* were the dining rooms (*triclinia*) and the *tablinum* which led to the *peristyle* (colonnaded walkway) located on the same axis as the entrance. Immediately surrounding the *peristyle* and the courtyard within it were the *cubicula* or bedrooms. Still surrounding the

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[17]ibid, p.117.

courtyard but not actually bordering the *peristyle* were such rooms as the kitchen, baths or even more bedrooms and dining rooms.

An even larger courtyard could usually have been found by either turning at a right angle from the axis created by the entrance and the first courtyard or continuing along the same axis. The type of rooms that surrounded this courtyard depended on what the villa was used for. If the villa was built to provide leisure for the owner it would likely have been surrounded by another *peristyle*. It would have been enclosed by different rooms if it were part of rural production villa or *villa rustica*.

The purpose of a *villa rustica*, which was located in the countryside, was to manufacture goods to be sold or used by the residents. The plan of a large one (over 30m on every side) would often have a *peristyle* residence for the owner like the one described above, except that the large courtyard would have been surrounded by slave quarters or animal stalls and located near to the *pars rustica* or production area. A *pars rustica* would have consisted of wine and olive presses, storage jars (*dolia*), a granary, a *fullonica* or produce store rooms. The presence of any of these features would depend on the type of activity which took place at the particular villa. Wine and olive presses were located within the villa near the *dolia* to allow for easy storage. The other areas would likely be on the outer edges of the structure or in buildings

separated by a short distance. Villas of this type are quite common in Italy from Lucus Feroniae in southern Etruria, the San Rocco villa in northern Campania to the villa of San Pietro di Tolve (Fig. 6 and Fig.7).

A small *villa rustica* (under 30m on at least one side) would have had the residence or *pars urbana* in one portion and the *pars rustica* in another portion all within the same structure. The rooms associated with the *pars urbana*, however, would not be mixed with those of the *pars rustica*. This type was also found in many parts of Italy like the villa at Sambuco near San Giovenale, the first phase of the villa at Posta Crusta near the Gargano and the first phase of the villa at Moltone di Tolve (Fig. 9 and Fig. 10).

Regardless of the function or size of a villa, whether for leisure or production, big or small, it was often necessary to construct a platform to provide a level surface on which the villa could be built. This platform could have been simply a terrace cut into the soil, as is often the case for small villas. For a large villa the platform could have consisted of a *cryptoporticus* or vaulted structure which extended out from a slope thus creating a level surface on top of which a structure could be built. The *cryptoporticus* was not merely functional and often contained storage areas or water tanks.

Masseria Ciccotti is located in the countryside and, with the *fullonica*, had a production facility and so shows

characteristics of a *villa rustica*. This must be kept in mind when a search for villas similar to our site is carried out.

It seems logical to begin the search for comparanda at the closest excavated villas to the site, since, as with much of the Lucanian countryside, the immediate area surrounding Masseria Ciccotti has been largely unexcavated.

Within a 12km radius of Masseria Ciccotti is the recently excavated villa San Pietro di Tolve. San Pietro displays a typical peristyle plan measuring 30m by 32m with several rooms including a *triclinium* with a characteristic T-shaped mosaic, surrounding an open courtyard[18]. On the eastern side of the peristyle is the industrial area or *pars rustica* of the site.

This villa has the same basic function as our site, that is it has a residence for the owner along side of production facilities with concentration on cereal cultivation. San Pietro, however, has a much smaller area than Masseria Ciccotti and so forces the parameters of the search to be widened.

Travelling about 18km east as the crow flies we come upon Monte Irsi and the farm complex of the second half of the II century B.C..[19] This site was abandoned at the beginning of the I century B.C. after which there was a re-occupation during the last quarter of the I century B.C..[20] The size of

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[18]Terrenato in *Leukania* 1992, p.39.

[19]Maria Giuseppina Canosa in *Leukania* 1992, p.110.

[20]Small 1977, p.101.

the late I century B.C. phase is difficult to determine. Judging by the re-use of the buildings dating to the end of the II century B.C., however, the I century B.C. phase spans approximately 70m in a north/south direction.[21] Due to the incomplete excavation of the complex it is difficult to determine the actual plan of the site. The size and re-occupation, however, suggest that it was possible to earn a living, even though the popularity of the main activity, pastoralism, had become less attractive.[22]

About 20km to the west over very severe hills lies the mid I century B.C. and Augustan rebuilding of the villa at San Giovanni di Ruoti (Fig. 10). There was a separation between the U-shaped residential building and the functional building located to the east, which housed a kiln for firing roofing tiles and a storage room for dolia.[23] The features of these two early phases, the second of which continues until the III century A.D., may correspond to the plan of the IV century A.D. villa since some fragments of walls from the early period have been found within it. Nevertheless, the 65m by 50m dimensions, with the long side oriented east/west, is still quite small when compared to the 165m of the short side of Masseria Ciccotti.

To the southwest near the town of Buccino lies the villa

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[21]ibid., fig. 11, p.59.

[22]Graeme Barker in Small 1977, p.270.

[23]Small 1985, p.171.

at Vittimose which provides another example of a peristyle plan with rooms surrounding a courtyard and measures 55m by 25m with the larger side oriented northeast/southwest. Vittimose is somewhat different in that the residential rooms occupy only one side of the courtyard (the northeast) while the large rooms, likely connected with the economic activity of the villa, occupy two sides of the courtyard (the northwest and southeast).[24] At Vittimose the residence portion, found within the same structure as the rooms associated with *pars rustica*, was placed at the edge of the terrace so as to provide a view.[25] In a similar arrangement the residence section (*pars urbana*) of Masseria Ciccotti was placed at the edge of the creek valley passing to the south of the villa.

Another similarity is that the surroundings in the courtyard of Vittimose have revealed no trace of a floor level. The same lack of a floor level was revealed by test trenches between feature #34 and feature #12 (Fig. 4). All of these similarities suggest that in some aspects a similar approach to layout and construction technique was taken at both sites.

At La Casa di Diavolo near Lavello there are the impressive remains of a I century A.D. villa with a large bath complex, comprising a total diameter of c.300m offering the possibility of a site of comparable size to that of Masseria

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[24]Dyson 1983, pp.14-17.

[25]ibid., pp.14-17.

Ciccotti (Fig. 11). Although the visible structures do belong to no earlier than the I century A.D., there have been remains of a late Republican/Augustan wall found underneath the later construction. Consequently it may be that the I century A.D. structure was built over a smaller villa dating to the second half of the I century B.C..

Posta Crusta (site 167 Fig. 12) was an olive oil producing site of the II century B.C. which was enlarged in the II century A.D. from 20.75m by 19.20m to 32m by 30m to increase its production potential.[26] The I century B.C. phase of the structure (Period II) has a few small habitation rooms, among which is an *oecus* or dining room that displays a limited amount of decoration with its *opus signinum* floor and two panels of rosette decoration.[27] The olive oil and wine production area is housed in the northeast portion of the same structure (Fig. 13).

Volpe describes the villa at San Vito di Salpi as a medium-large villa (90m by 45m) with a production area, located in the southwest section of the plan, oriented to intensive and structured exploitation along with a luxurious residential area (Fig. 13 and site 390 Fig. 14).[28] It has an atrium peristyle plan with a *pars rustica* and a large *viridarium* or pleasure garden.

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[26]Dyson 1983, pp.57 and 111.

[27]ibid., p.131.

[28]ibid., p.52

On the Adriatic Sea just south of the Gargano is the site of Agnuli (site 402 Fig. 12) which dates to the second half of the I century B.C.. It is somewhat different than the other sites mentioned until now because it is organised into separate sections with numerous areas (probably service areas) located between the *pars rustica* and the residence or *pars urbana*.[29] These different sections cover an area over 100m on one side and are located along the coast and so its plan is more like that of a *porticus* villa.

Obviously the sites mentioned so far give good examples of rural villas with residences and production facilities, but, as is clear given the plans for these sites, there is still no example which displays a large enough area to be considered a good comparison with the early I century B.C. complex at Masseria Ciccotti. As a result we are forced to expand the geographical parameters of our search.

Perhaps the best example so far of an excavated rural villa with both a luxurious residential portion and *pars rustica* of similar size to those found at Masseria Ciccotti can be found at Francolise in the *ager Falernus*. After its initial construction at around 100-90 B.C. the San Rocco villa at Francolise underwent two alterations within 60-70 years, the second of which fundamentally changed the structure of the villa and increased its size from 25m by 30m to 65m by 75m.[30]

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[29]Dyson 1983, p.183.

[30]Cotton and Metraux 1985, p.6.

During the period 100-90 B.C. the villa structure included a modest residence with an equally modest *pars rustica* adjoined to its southern end creating a structure 25m by 35m. Apart from a few renovations the basic plan of the villa stayed the same until the beginning of Period II (c.30 B.C.).

The Period II addition to the residence completely overtook the area of the entire Period I villa (Fig. 7). A *pars rustica*, located on the northeast of the site, and a *hortus* (garden) were together roughly the same size as the Period II residence. Five large cisterns (3 north of the residential area, 2 north of the *pars rustica*) replaced the previous cisterns and well and supplied both portions of the villa with water.

Of slightly greater dimensions (at least 75m by 105m) is the villa of Volusii on the outskirts of Lucus Foroniae in northern Latium (Fig. 6). The large *pars urbana* is set out in the common peristyle plan with gardens to the north and the slave quarters surrounding the *ergastulum* or working area to the west linked by a narrow corridor.[31] The *cryptoporticus* by the entrance to the south was used to create a platform on top of which sat the remainder of the villa. The rooms located on the northeast of the villa plan were used for the storage of produce and equipment essential to the agricultural activity of the site.

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[31]Staccioli 1983, p.277.

The final stop on our search takes us about 5km northwest of Cosa in the *ager Cosanus* to the villa of Settefinestre (Fig. 16). The buildings of the first phase which date to the second half of the I century B.C. measured about 100m north/south and about 85m east/west. Facing northwest is the luxurious *peristyle* residence which is entered by first passing through a large enclosure which was surrounded by servants quarters, the wine and olive oil storage area and animal stalls. Within the residence itself are numerous *cubicula* and *triclinia* surrounding the *peristyle*, as well as wine and olive presses and the *caldarium* and *tepidarium* of a bath area.

To the north and west are two large pleasure gardens and a vegetable garden. The large two storey granary lies further to the west and constitutes a completely separate building. Underneath the residence and within the *cryptoporticus* is the cistern.

Given the wine and olive presses, the animal stalls, the granary, the aviary and the fruit tree orchard, it is obvious that a high level of production took place here by the second half of the I century B.C..

Masseria Ciccotti also has the potential for a high level of productive output. A 4m x 5m *opus signinum* basin supplied with water by a terracotta pipeline running east from the *castellum aquae* comprise the 200 square metre *fullonica*.[32]

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[32]Fracchia and Gualtieri 1993, p.323.

Various pigments found in this area indicate that the basin was used for the washing and dying of wool.[33] In addition, the presence of *dolia* for the storage of wine or olive oil and the close proximity of the rich, fluvial soils of the Bradano river valley suggest that there was a mixture of agricultural and pastoral activity.

All of the sites mentioned above, although of different sizes, are based upon a plan in which the *pars urbana* and the *pars rustica* occupy different sections within a common structure. At the smaller sites, those not exceeding 30m each side, all of the portions of the villa surround a central courtyard within a single structure. Inside of this crowded arrangement, however, the *pars urbana* and the *pars rustica* are always located in different sections of the villa. The machinery and storage areas of the production section are never found amongst the rooms of the residential section.

In the plan of the larger villas (over 30m along each side) the *pars urbana* and the *pars rustica* do occupy a large area, however, they are still essentially part of the same single structure. The two sections of the villa are no longer built surrounding a central courtyard as in the smaller villas. Instead the rooms of the *pars urbana* are built around a *peristyle* and the rooms of the *pars rustica* are built around a different courtyard. Since the rooms of the different *pars* surround different open spaces, activities in the different

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[33]ibid., p.324.

sections are able to take place independently of each other.

San Rocco at Francolise and Settefinestre are two examples of this. In order to reach the monumental triple entrance doorway of San Rocco it was necessary to pass beside the animal stalls. The same holds true for Settefinestre where it was necessary to pass the entire length of the largest portion of the *pars rustica* before entering the main residence.

Only one of the eleven sites discussed here fails to follow this general rule, Agnuli. Since Agnuli is a *porticus* villa, its villa plan does not comply with the conventions of the other villas.

It follows then that the owners of these villas believed that having the two sections close to one another was beneficial to the smooth operation of the villa.[34] Having the *pars rustica* close to his own quarters meant that the owner would have had easy access to it and thus more control over his workers.

The placement of the *pars rustica* within the site plan also seems to follow a pattern. In seven of the nine sites with complete plans (Monte Irsi and La Casa di Diavolo have incomplete site plans for the middle of the I century B.C.) the *pars rustica* is located to the east or northeast of the *pars urbana*.

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[34]This may give force to the argument that it was in the interest of a villa owner to maintain a friendly relationship with his slaves (q.v. de Albentiis 1990, p.292).

In order to reconstruct the villa plan at Masseria Ciccotti it is essential to consider patterns displayed in the plans of the villas examined above. Attention must be paid to the frequency of a particular villa plan, whether *porticus* or *peristyle*, and the placement of the different sections of the villa within the overall plan of the site.

The first and largest of the possible reconstructions carries through on the premise that the residence, in the *peristyle* plan, and the industrial area are contained within a single articulated structure (Fig. 16). With the exception of Agnuli, all of the sites we have examined have followed the *peristyle* plan. The entrance to the *pars urbana* would be situated on the eastern end of the site where a test trench, about 40m to the southwest of the *pars rustica*, revealed several levels of mosaic tesserae and I century B.C. ceramics. After passing through the *atrium* and *tablinum* we enter the *peristyle* courtyard to the north of Rooms 14-19 surrounded by the usual array of small rooms. Surface survey in the area near the row of the two columns and the pilaster (Fig. 4) yielded several small white tesserae (typical of Republican mosaics) and chunks of painted wall plaster. Remnants of red, white stripes and the light blue usually associated with the background of a landscape scene are typical of both the Second and Third Pompeiian styles which date to the second half of the I century B.C..

To the west of this courtyard would be more rooms ending

with room 7. North of room 1 would be a large pleasure garden like those seen at Settefinestre. Located directly north of the *peristyle* courtyard would be a large open area encircled by the servants quarters, animals stalls and wine and olive oil storage. To the east of this and to the north of the entrance mentioned above would be the *fullonica* marking the eastern end of the *pars rustica* and the entire villa.

A light well (feature #1 in Fig. 4) suggests that there was likely a *cryptoporticus* underneath the ground level of the residence which faced out towards the creek valley at some point along feature #24 (Fig. 4) where part of a window is visible. Another lower level, possibly the continuation of the same *cryptoporticus*, can be seen in the Roman structures used in the modern farm building located to the north of Room 8 and Room 13.

Another possible reconstruction is that, as in a *porticus* villa, the *pars urbana* was built along the top of the creek valley. Extending for 150m from the location of the 1990 test trench until reaching the western limit at room 4. Like Agnuli and the aerial photographs taken in the Tavoliere in Apulia (Fig. 17), the *pars rustica* would have been a separate building. Although the *porticus* villa was used in wealthy residences that does not exclude the possibility that the architectural features of it could not be utilized in a villa concerned with production.

Both of these reconstructions are possible since

excavation has not yet revealed a substantial enough portion of the site to confirm the existence of either site plan. Nonetheless, evidence from other sites and the evidence collected by surface survey at our site favours a single structure with a *peristyle* plan for the residence quarters.

Masseria Ciccotti, then, was a large villa which measured at least 165m east/west by 100m north/south with extensive *pars urbana* and *pars rustica* areas. Recent excavations to the west of the *fullonica* (October/November 1994) have uncovered a room full of *dolia* presumably for wine or olive oil storage. In addition to this the discovery of part of a large mill stone in a region so rich in fluvial soils ideal for cereal cultivation suggests that there was almost certainly considerable attention paid to agricultural production as well as wool processing. Consequently, by 90 B.C. Masseria Ciccotti appears to have been a large production villa.

Chapter 2
Early Roman Settlement
Surrounding Masseria Ciccotti

Based on the evidence discussed in the previous chapter, by the second decade of the I century B.C. the villa at Masseria Ciccotti was a large production villa which housed an impressive residential section. It will not be possible to determine how Masseria Ciccotti fit into the settlement pattern of this region, however, until the location and settlement types of the surrounding sites have been discussed.

Surface survey of the immediate area of the upper Bradano valley surrounding our site has revealed twelve sites contemporaneous to Masseria Ciccotti (Fig. 2).[35] Those sites which were found higher up on the valley ridge (sites 1-4) had their initial Roman development at around 90 B.C. with the principle period of activity dating from around 50 B.C. to 100 A.D..[36] The initial development is dated on the basis of unglazed thin-walled wares which were then followed by an increase in the overall quantity of ceramic evidence, especially undecorated Italian Terra Sigillata of c.50 B.C..

Each one of these sites is less than half a hectare and was built either upon a ridge or a natural or artificial platform which provided a commanding view of the valley.[37]

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[35]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, pp.324-332.

[36]ibid., p.326.

[37]ibid., p.330.

Platforms were often constructed by levelling off the ground on which the structures were to be built, as in the case of small farms. For larger villas a concrete base was laid down over the area on which construction was to take place in order to provide a more solid surface on which a structure could have been built. Higher up on the valley ridge of the upper Bradano the platforms seem to have been located in order to have provided a view of the valley below.[38]

All of these sites were within 1.5km-3.0km of each other and were built on the locations of previous Lucanian sites as is seen by the presence of banded wares and black-glaze pottery found with Roman pottery. Theoretically one dates the end of the Lucanian period to the years immediately following the fall of Taranto in 274 B.C.. In fact, a general abandonment of the countryside has been postulated for c.270 until c.190 B.C. in northern Lucania. Indeed, there seems to be a break in the ceramic record at these sites for this period. The local black-glaze is followed by imported grey-glaze which appears in coastal sites around c.200 B.C.. The re-habitation of these sites in the Roman period is probably based on availability of water and their proximity to the road system linking them which does not seem to have altered substantially from pre-Roman to Roman times.

Five of the sites discovered in the valley plain (sites 5-8 and site 11), along with Masseria Ciccotti and San Gilio,

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[38]q.v. above discussion of platforms in Chapter 2, p.20.

have surface scatters of 1.5-2.5 hectares and are located on an elevated section of the valley usually beside a stream bed or ravine. All show a limited late Republican phase with the greatest quantity of material dating to between 150/200-400/500A.D. and all, except for site 8, show signs of artisan or agricultural production.[39]

Two other sites located in the valley (sites 9 and 10) have produced only Pompeiian *meta*-type millstones, hourglass-shaped millstones which are moved by turning both ends of a wooden post which runs through its narrow middle.[40]

The mapping of these sites has indicated that, in addition to what we have seen at Masseria Ciccotti, there was some limited settlement activity on the ridge of the upper Bradano valley at the beginning of the I century B.C., which increased considerably by the middle of the I century B.C.. The valley floor seems to have been barely settled by the middle of the I century A.D..

It is dangerous to use field survey data to determine the activities which took place at these sites because it requires that we use only the limited information that is provided by surface survey in our attempt to recreate the type of site which existed at the location in question, and so too much emphasis may be placed upon this information. If, however, it is always kept in mind that no final determinations concerning

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[39]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, p.330.

[40]ibid., p.329.

a site can be made without more concrete data, such as geophysical testing or excavation, and if we include examples from different but relevant geographical locations, hypotheses can be made by analogy which will help provide us with an understanding of what the settlement pattern in the area may have been.

Types of materials found and size provide the criteria used to distinguish between the sites found on surface survey. Sites with very few architectural remains with no decorative architectural elements and a scatter of no greater than 0.5 hectares will be called farmsteads. These farmsteads give no structural evidence that site activities included anything more than subsistence level food production of such things as vegetables, fruits and olives, production of which still takes place in this area.

Sites with architectural remains which display some degree of decoration or a higher than subsistence level of agricultural activity, whether this was of olives and vines or of wool, and which cover an area less than 0.5 hectares are considered to be small villas.

Sites which exhibit large amounts of ceramic debris, indications of artisan activity (such as deposits of vitrified slag or misfired ceramics), either decorated or undecorated architectural remains and which cover an area of more than 1.0

hectare will be considered large villas.[41]

Within the destinctions between types of sites as set out in the preceeding paragraphs, there are some sites (site 4, site 8, site 9 and site 10) with surface finds which indicate that they must not be categorized as either farmhouses, small villas or large villas. These sites will be discussed below.

Only two of the four settlements higher up on the valley ridge provide any structural evidence that could be used to determine what activities occurred there. Site 1, a small villa, is the only one of the four higher sites where any indication of decoration has been found, a mosaic that local workmen say had been excavated some time ago.[42] Although this does not prove that the mosaic belonged to the early phase of the site, there were several mosaic tesserae and walls found during the surface survey, with the remains of at least one complete room.[43] This indicates that a multi-roomed structure, perhaps a modest sized farm, did exist on the site.

Some of the features of site 1 can be seen in the villa site of San Pietro di Tolve (for location see Fig. 2). Like site 1, San Pietro di Tolve was located on a hill which provides a commanding view of the valley below and housed a mosaic pavement, in the case of San Pietro di Tolve the mosaic

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[41]No sites between 0.5 and 1.0 hectares were found so no separate destinction has been made for this size.

[42]Gulatieri and Fracchia 1993, pp.326 and 330.

[43]ibid., p.326.

had a geometric pattern.[44] The existence of this nearby villa site, which displays some of the same decorative and positional similarities, creates the possibility that site 1 was a small, hillside villa with a smaller degree of what is normally considered a luxurious aspect.

At 725m above sea level the small villa located at site 2 was the highest site on the survey and is located on an artificially leveled platform overlooking the steep hillside towards Acerenza. The discovery of a cistern on this platform suggests that the site required a quantity of water for use on the premises, water which had to have been available when needed. The small size of the site (less than 0.5 hectares) and the lack of any decorative elements suggest that this water was not used for a bath complex but rather for producing goods, which may have included olive oil and wine or processed wool, to be used by the residents of the site. This does not mean that there was no surplus in production. In fact, small quantities of surplus from sites like this one may have been sold at small markets, a practice which is still performed today at Oppido Lucano.

A constant supply of water would have been needed for the processing of wool. For an example of wool processing we need look no further than Masseria Ciccotti. Although the two sites are of much different size, there is no reason to suggest that similar activities could not have taken place at

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[44]Terrenato in *Leukania* 1992, p.36.

both locations.

The lack of any structural remains at site 3 creates difficulty in recreating the type of site which was situated there. Abundant habitation debris, such as a stamped roof tile, thin-walled ware and Italian Terra Sigillata, suggests that site 3 may have had architectural elements similar to either site 1 or site 2. At the same time, however, the lack of any visible architectural remains may suggest that there was little architectural activity on the site and, therefore, it would be more likely that this site was a farmstead rather than a small villa.

Surface finds at site 4, which include two funerary inscriptions, indicate that this was a small site which may pertain to a necropolis.[45]

So with the exception of site 4 there is evidence that by the beginning of the I century B.C. the sites on the valley ridge may have been either farmsteads or small villas which were able to maintain a subsistence or slightly higher level of agricultural production; probably vines and olives since their root systems are deep enough to provide firm placement on steep slopes.

Site 5 is located on a slightly elevated plain just across and above the creek which runs beside Masseria Ciccotti. No structures have been found here but there was a large amount of vitrified slag which is being analyzed by

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[45]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, p.327.

Professor M. Wayman of the University of Alberta. Its position on a large flat plain similar to the one on which Masseria Ciccotti is located and the abundance of later Italian Terra Sigillata would lead us to suspect that it may have been a grain producing site of the mid I century A.D..

Located about 2km northwest of Masseria Ciccotti, just as the valley rises up to the surrounding foothills, is the site of La Donna Caterina (site 11). Recent (October/November, 1994) surface survey here, following road construction, has supplemented earlier Italian Terra Sigillata found on the site and has revealed a mid-I century B.C. occupation of c. 1.0 hectare.

Site 6 is the largest of all the sites surveyed. It covers an area of 2.5 hectares and sits on a rise bordered on the east by a ravine and overlooks the eastern side of the Bradano river valley.[46] Surrounding the ancient kiln on the site were large quantities of Italian Terra Sigillata, African Red Slip and a common ware which can be dated to the V century A.D..[47] Painted wall plaster and mosaic tesserae were also found.

The ceramic evidence and the large area over which surface finds were recovered suggest that this was a large site which started in the second half of the I century B.C. and continued until the V century A.D.. Exactly what type of

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[46]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, p.328.

[47]ibid., p.328.

activities went on at the site is difficult to say, but it seems clear that the kiln provided whatever pottery was needed for this site and perhaps others as well.

Painted wall plaster and mosaic tesserae indicate that some portion of the area was decorated. When this is combined with the evidence mentioned above for the production of pottery on the site, it seems quite likely that there may have been a *pars rustica* and a *pars urbana* at this site.

Pezzachiarella, site 7, covers an area of 2.0 hectares and is bordered by a stream which runs along the entire length of the valley.[48] Since only African red slip and unidentifiable coarse ware were found here we may only say that activity, whatever that may have been, at this site did not begin until the middle of the I century A.D.. Local informants recall having pushed up a great deal of Roman pottery after the fields had been ploughed

The complete absence of any finds at site 9 and site 10 other than the two Pompeiian millstones raises the possibility that these sites may have been secondary centres for the collection and milling of grain from the farmsteads, small villas and large villas in the area.

The San Gilio site includes a number of large structures which were visible even before excavation of the site began two years ago. There appears to be a cistern located near the top of the hill and a large structure further down the hill,

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[48]Gulaltieri and Fracchia 1993, p.328.

which is either a bath building or a bath area part located within a larger structure, decorated in *opus spicatum* and mosaic pavement.[49] Although there has to my knowledge been no evidence of production yet found here the size of the cistern was sufficient to have provided water for more than just the baths. It is apparent then that San Gilio was a large site with considerable attention paid to comfort and decoration with the potential for some kind of production, possibly based on mixed agriculture of vines and olives since the site sits on top of the ridge which overlooks the valley.

If we use a starting date similar to that given by the other large sites located in the valley, and a date of the end of the first quarter of the II century A.D. for the bath area, it would be reasonable to assume that San Gilio began at some time around the end of the I century B.C. or the beginning of the I century A.D. and saw an increase in activity in the II century A.D. with the construction of the baths.

Other than Masseria Ciccotti, only site 11 and site 6 can be dated to the I century B.C.. Site 6 continues into the I century A.D. when there is an overall increase in the number of large sites in the valley. It is between this time and the end of the I century A.D. that site 5 and site 7 begin.

Although not all of the locations discussed above provide clues as to what type of sites existed in the valley, it is

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[49]The bath building has an apse on one end like the one at Masseria Ciccotti and so probably dates to near the end of the II century A.D. at the earliest.

possible to hypothesize what activities were present based upon comparisons to the surface finds of other sites. Like Masseria Ciccotti, site 6, with its kiln and decorative architectural elements consisted of both a working area and a residential area. Consequently, site 6 can also be classified as a *villa rustica*. Site 5, with its location on a flat plain ideal for cereal cultivation, with its large water supply, also has the potential for cereal crop cultivation and wool processing. San Gilio, because of its location high on the valley ridge and large cistern, is more likely to have had olive or vine cultivation along with wool processing.

This appearance of *villae rusticae* in the upper Bradano valley seems to mirror the general increase in the number of *villae rusticae* in other parts of Italy during the mid-late I century B.C.. The first phase of Settefinestre, near Cosa, with its large *pars rustica* and *pars urbana*, was constructed in the second half of the I century B.C. (Fig. 16).[50] Like the upper Bradano valley, this area of Italy was predominantly rural with a focus on agricultural production.[51]

The Posto and San Rocco villas at Francolise were the only two villa sites on Monte Telefono in the first decade of the I century B.C.. But by the end of the last quarter of the I century B.C., by which time the San Rocco villa had more than quadrupled in size from Period I at the beginning of the

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[50]Carandini 1985a.

[51]Potter 1979. p.93.

same century (Fig. 7), these two sites were accompanied by two more *villae rusticae* of equal or greater dimensions.[52]

In the Gargano region to the north-northwest of the upper Bradano valley, there was an increase in the number of small farms by the end of the II-beginning of the I century B.C..[53] These small farms congregated on the hills or in the fluvial valleys of the Fortore and Ofanto rivers. By the second half of the I century B.C. many of the small farms were either expanded into or had been joined by villas with large production areas and luxurious residences.[54]

Survey evidence for Roman Molise, located in the Biferno river valley just north of the Gargano, is less precisely dated but seems to follow the same general settlement pattern as the upper Bradano valley. The upper Biferno river valley, like the upper Bradano, is predominantly rural and shows an increase in the relative frequency of large decorated 'villas' by the second half of the I century B.C..[55]

In the upper Bradano valley during the mid-late I century A.D., when most of the large villas in the valley were developing, the small farm sites high up on the ridge surrounding the valley were at their peak. This creates an overlap between the peak period of the hilltop settlements and

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[52]Cotton and Metraux 1985, pp.6-10.

[53]Volpe 1990, pp.49 and 109.

[54]ibid., p.52.

[55]Lloyd et al. 1978, pp.43 and 45

the large settlements in the valley.

A similar overlap in the contemporary occurance of small and large settlements occurred in the Albegna river valley north of Cosa at the same time (for location see Fig. 19). In this case the appearance of the large villas in the I century B.C. and the I century A.D. did not push out the smaller farms.[56] The appearance of the large villas did, however, result in a decrease in the number of small landholdings, although it did not affect the medium sized estates.[57] The smaller landholdings may have disappeared because they were unable to compete with the larger villas and found it more profitable to provide labour for them than to compete with them. The situation in the upper Bradano seems to be a combination of these two situations.

Like the Gargano and the Albegna valley, the small and large sites in the upper Bradano valley were able to coexist for some time. By the end of the I century A.D., however, the large sites in the upper Bradano had pushed out the smaller ones. This may be a result of the fact that the larger villas did not reach their greatest size until a period of slightly more than 100 years had elapsed.

At the beginning of the early phase of the villa at Masseria Ciccotti during the first half of the I century B.C., there were no other large sites in the valley. Consequently,

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[56]G. Pucci in Carandini 1985a, p.18.

[57]Dyson 1978, p.263.

the smaller farms were able to prosper along with it. By the end of the same century site 11 (La Donna Caterina) and site 6 (Trigneto d'Oppido) were underway. Later on, by the end of the I century A.D., La Donna Caterina and Trigneto began to prosper and were joined by site 5 (Masseria Colombaia) and site 7 (Pezzachiarella). At this time Masseria Ciccotti continued to prosper as is seen by the developments in its *Hadrianic-Antonine* phase.[58] As a result an increase in agricultural production at sites in the valley made the hill top settlements redundant and eventually led to their demise.

The larger geographical areas discussed above all have a predominantly rural population.[59] In the case of the Albegna valley this was a result of a "deliberate (Roman) policy" in the III century B.C. aimed at decentralizing the Etruscan population and "destroying potential foci of resistence".[60] By the I century B.C. large villas developed along side of the small farms. In the Gargano region the small farms began to expand into or be taken over by large villas. Large villas in Roman Molise remained the same in number while the small farms decreased in number.

A pattern emerges in which the small farms which existed

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[58]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, pp.320-321.

[59]It is necessary here to discuss only the comparanda which deal with distinct geographical regions such as river valleys, in the case of Roman Molise and the Albegna valley, or several river valleys together, as in the case of the Gargano region. This ensures that as many of the immediately relevant factors effecting settlement, such as common transportation routes, water sources and cultural similarities, are taken into account.

[60]Pottery 1979, p.93.

by the I century B.C. are either accompanied or replaced by large villas. This also occurs in the upper Bradano valley by the end of the I century B.C. when the hilltop settlements are joined and eventually replaced by sites on the valley plain.

Perhaps this shift in activity from the valley ridge to the valley plain is best illustrated by the development of site 8, a road station located at a crossroads along the main *tratturo* which runs through the valley sites. The path of this *tratturo* runs close to Masseria Ciccotti, site 5, site 9, through site 8 and finally to site 7. At one point it branches off to connect with San Gilio.

This road station, which gave travellers the opportunity to rest and replenish themselves and their animals, began in the second half of the I century B.C., at the same time as La Donna Caterina and Trigneto. The amount of African red slip pottery at the end of the I century A.D. mirrors the increase in activity seen in all of the valley sites (except Masseria Ciccotti which maintains its earlier high level of activity) and the decline of the hilltop settlements. The fact that this road station appears indicates that traffic through the valley plain by this time had increased significantly enough to necessitate the development of this site.

Not far from the Lucanian coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea is the late Republican-early Imperial site of Vigna della Corte which is also thought to be a road station.[61] The development

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[61]Terrenato in *Leukania* 1992, p.37.

of another road station at the same time indicates that there may have been a general increase in road traffic; or perhaps the appearance of more rural settlements at this time, both in the upper Bradano valley and near Muro Lucano[62], made the countryside more secure and the establishment of this type of site more feasible.

It is reasonable to assume that in the first half of the I century B.C., before the arrival of the road station and the other valley sites, goods from Masseria Ciccotti would have required a transportation route which led to the appropriate market. At this point in time the fact that Masseria Ciccotti and Trigneto d'Oppido (Site 6) were the only sites in the valley meant that the establishment of a road station would have been impractical. It is nearly certain, however, that a road system was already in use.

In the region to the north of the upper Bradano valley there are a number of local roads which have been mistaken for, and probably pre-date, the Roman roads.[63] In the vicinity of *Venusia* there is a road which may have been used during the battle of *Cannae* in the last quarter of the III century B.C. and even follow the course of a prehistoric track.[64]

As the number of sites in the upper Bradano valley rose between the end of the I century B.C. and the I century A.D.,

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[62]ibid., p.37.

[63]Volpe 1990, p.85.

[64]ibid., p.93.

so, too, did the need of a *statio* to service the traffic on the road. As with any service, the best place to set up is in the most crowded area. As a result, the road station is located at what must have been the point of the most traffic. The distribution of the survey sites clearly shows that the greatest number of sites lies to the west of the road station.

At the risk of overestimating the thoroughness of the field survey, it may be that the road station was placed at this location in order to provide a rest before the next stop along the *tratturo*. Since, if there were only a westward flow of traffic, it would have been an unwise business decision to place a road station only 1-2km from a collection of so many sites, there must have been eastward traffic down the Bradano valley.

The nearby colonies located near the sites of modern Acerenza and Banzi (*Bantium*) were also linked to Masseria Ciccotti by the local roads which ran through the valley and into the surrounding hills.

The close proximity of the *via Herculia* to the north-northwest suggests that there was also some degree of traffic in this direction and eventually to the Adriatic coast and port towns, such as *Sipontum* (for *Sipontum* see Fig. 12). The *via Appia* to the northeast would have given access to *Brundisium*.

Even at the time when the small farm sites on the ridge overlooking the valley and the early villa at Masseria

Ciccotti had just started at the beginning of the I century B.C., transportation east to the markets down the Bradano valley, north-northwest to the *via Herculia* and northeast to the *via Appia* and thus to the rest of Italy was possible.

As the small farms on the ridge began to prosper and more settlements began to appear in the valley during the second half of the I century B.C., transportation to surrounding markets became increasingly important. By this time Masseria Ciccotti had already established itself as a large production centre and continued to prosper in the early II century A.D., when the prosperity of the small farms on the valley ridge had begun to wane and the other sites in the valley were reaching their period of greatest prosperity.

Conclusions

By 90 B.C. (based on the appearance of large quantities of unpainted thin-walled ware) Masseria Ciccotti had developed into a large *villa rustica* with a luxurious *pars urbana* and large *pars rustica* at the same time as many of the smaller sites on the nearby hills were just beginning to appear and the large sites within the valley had not yet begun. A certain degree of wealth must have been associated with the villa given the large size, monumentality and the use of mosaic pavement, painted wall plaster and possibly marble flooring and revetments as decoration in the *pars urbana*. Undoubtedly, some revenue was gained from the cereal cultivation and wool processing which took place at the villa.

The *fullonica* and the various pigments discovered in the immediate vicinity indicate the possibility that wool was being washed and dyed here.[65] The fertile plains surrounding the site and the discovery of a number of millstone fragments during the 1990 excavation season raise the possibility that there was also some grain production. Since the altitude of the sites on the hills is more suited to olives and vines than grain and they did not exhibit high productive capabilities, and since the other sites in the valley had not yet appeared, it is reasonable to assume that in the upper Bradano valley at this time the production of wool and grain may have been

[65]Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, p.324.

dominated by Masseria Ciccotti.

The subsistence level of production at the sites on the valley ridge at this time may have meant that there was no local need for the goods produced at Masseria Ciccotti. Consequently, it was necessary to have transported the goods to other regions where they could have been sold.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, part of the road system which ran through the valley and right by the site may have existed before the establishment of the villa. If this were the case the road would have probably followed the course of the Bradano river valley in order to avoid passing over the surrounding hills. This route would have led to *Canusium* where by the I century A.D. there was a fully developed woolen industry[66]. *Tarentum* with its cloth production industry could have been reached by a north eastern route to the *via Appia*.

Agricultural produce may have taken a similar route. Access to the port towns on the Adriatic sea, such as *Brindisium*, would have made a route northeast towards the *via Appia* and north-northeast towards the *via Herculia, Canusium* and *Sipontum* quite profitable. It is precisely this opportunity for economic exploitation of the area which may have initiated the increase in settlement activity in the

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[66]Roe 1992, p.92. Roe also suggests that the disapearance of the Lamboglia 2 amphorae in the Augustan period was the result of reduction in the amount of wine produced in northern Apulia. This reduction in wine production may have led to an increase in wool production at the same time. It may not have been until the I century A.D. that wool production here became a more important activity explaining how it could have escaped the notice of I century B.C. authors such as Varro and Strabo (ibid., pp.94 and 95).

upper Bradano valley.

Following the end of the Social War in the first decade of the I century B.C. the Roman Senate eliminated any obstacle to their control over the peninsula by effectively wiping out their opposition. This ratification of power and the availability of *ager publicus* motivated the Romans to exploit large tracts of land with slave labour. It has been suggested that the local ruling classes of indigenous origin in Lucania at this time were able to rent large tracts of land from the Romans at little or no cost since both would benefit from the arrangement.[67] The local ruling classes of local origin would have been able to profit under the Roman system, while the Romans were able to strengthen their hold on Lucania by ensuring that Roman institutions and customs were followed.

Evidence from the nearby town of *Potentia* (modern Potenza), however, indicates a more direct involvement in the area by the Romans. After *Potentia* was founded, probably in the last quarter of the II century B.C., there is abundant evidence from inscriptions that Roman administrative positions, such as *quaestor* and *aedile*, were in place.[68] In addition to this, the influx of such Latin names as *Cornelius*, *Julius* and *Valerius* began.[69] Thus by c. 100 B.C. a Roman administrative system was in place as is indicated by 13 new

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[67]Torelli in *Leukania* 1992, p.XIX.

[68]Terrenato in *Leukania* 1992, p.34.

[69]ibid., p.34.

sites - all Roman - near Muro Lucano.

Perhaps this influx of Romans into Lucania also occurred in the upper Bradano valley. The early phase of Masseria Ciccotti occurs within a few years after *Potentia* is believed to have been founded and near the Roman colonies at Acerenza and *Bantium*. The popularity of the large *villae rusticae* at this time would have made the valley plain in the upper Bradano very attractive to someone who had the resources to properly exploit it.

At the time the early villa was built, surface survey evidence has revealed only one other site in the valley, Site 6. No evidence for a road station dating to the beginning of the I century B.C. along the road system which ran through the valley has yet been discovered. As a result, the economic outlay needed to make large scale production and transportation feasible at Masseria Ciccotti during the second decade of the I century B.C., when there was only limited settlement on the hills and in the valley, would have been considerably more than in an area where transportation would not have been as much of a factor.

It follows then that the owner must not only have been able to commit the necessary resources to start the operation of the villa, but, since there may have been problems with large scale transportation, he was also probably able to get a high enough return on his investment in order to continue. One does not remain surrounded by opulence in an economically

unprofitable location for over 300 years without some level of economic success. Masseria Ciccotti was the first large *villa rustica* to exploit the economic potential in this portion of the upper Bradano valley.

Masseria Ciccotti is significant not only because it was the first large villa in this region, but also because the size and decoration of the villa even at this early date are comparable, and in most cases more impressive, than any *villae rusticae* found in other parts of Italy. Locations such as southern Etruria and Campania which lie on roads leading directly to Rome, as well as all of ancient Lucania and the Gargano region, have not produced villas which overshadow the size and decorative aspects of Masseria Ciccotti. This indicates the amount of wealth which was available in an area which was not directly linked to Rome, either by roads or by sea.

Such a large, beautifully decorated villa in this geographically marginal area to Rome implies that its success was completely independant from any direct involvement from Rome. Apart from small shipments of highly prized meats[70], the goods produced at Masseria Ciccotti found their way to the larger production centers and Adriatic ports in the southwest portion of Italy.

So it seems that the early settlement at Masseria Ciccotti in the I century B.C. was a large and luxurious *villa*

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[70]Dr. M. Gualtieri, personal correspondence.

rustica which was able to establish itself without direct involvement from Rome by successfully exploiting the agricultural and pastoral resources of the upper Bradano valley.

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Since copyright permission could not be obtained for the figures in this thesis, pages 60-77 have been omitted and the information for them given below.

Fig. 1 Southern Italy (from Small 1977, Fig. 1).

Fig. 2 Oppido Lucano: survey map of region (from Gualtieri and Fracchia 1993, Fig. 4, p.325). Adapted from I.G.M. maps from Oppido Lucano, Taccone and Tolve

Fig. 3 Plan of the early villa at Masseria Ciccotti.

Fig. 4 Detail of Section A and Section B in Fig. 3.

Fig. 5 Detail of Section C in Fig. 3.

Fig. 6 Lucus Feroniae, Etruria. Plan of the villa of the *Volusii* (from Potter 1979, Fig. 38, p.130).

Fig. 7 Francolise. Period II of the San Rocco villa (from Cotton and Metraux 1985, Fig. 7, p.39).

Fig. 8 Posta Crusta. Plan of phase I of the villa (from Volpe 1990, Fig.73, p.131).

Fig. 9 Moltone di Tolve. Plan of phase I of the villa (from Russo Tagliente in *Leukania* 1992, Fig. 64, p.40).

Fig. 10 San Giovanni di Ruoti. Plan of the villa with the walls of the Augustan period represented by the dark lines (from Small 1985, Fig. 10.2, p.169).

Fig. 11 La Casa di Diavolo. Plan showing part of the I century A.D. villa (from Volpe 1990, Fig. 115, p.152).

Fig. 12 Map of the Gargano region of Italy showing the distribution of sites from 90 B.C. to II century A.D. (from Volpe 1990, Fig. 17, p.43).

Fig. 13 San Vito di Salpi. Plan of the villa (from Volpe

1990, Fig. 140, p.75).

Fig. 14 Map of the Gargano region of Italy showing the distribution of sites from the II century B.C. to 90 B.C. (from Volpe 1990, Fig. 16, p.41).

Fig. 15 Settefinestre. Plan of phase I of the villa, second half of the I century B.C. (from Carandini 1985a, Fig. 139).

Fig. 16 Masseria Ciccotti. Hypothetical reconstruction of the early villa.

Fig. 17 Tavogliere. Aerial photograph of a large *villa rustica* made up of three separate buildings; the *pars urbana*, *pars rustica* and *pars fructuaria* (from Potter 1987, p.103).

Fig. 18 Map of Cosa, Settefinestre and the Albegna river (from Dyson 1978, Fig. 2, p.252).

Table 1

Location of villa	Size of villa	Location of *pars rustica* on site plan	Type of villa plan: *Peristyle* or *Porticus*
San Pietro di Tolve	32m x 30m	east	*Peristyle*
Monte Irsi	70m N/S[1]	-	-
San Giovanni di Ruoti	65m x 50m	east	*Peristyle*
Vittimose	55m x 25m	west	*Peristyle*
La Casa di Diavolo	over 100m on one side	-	-
Posta Crusta	32m x 30m	east	-
San Vito di Salpi	90m x 45m	southwest	*Peristyle*
Agnuli	uncertain extent	east	*Porticus*
San Rocco at Francolise	70m x 60m	northeast	*Peristyle*
Villa of the *Volusii*	70m x 105m	northeast	*Peristyle*
Settefinestre	100m x 85m	northeast	*Peristyle*

Table showing size, placement of *pars rustica* and type of villa plan for those sites dicussed in Chapter 2.

[1]No complete plan for Monte Irsi was available.

PLATE 1

1.1 View from Masseria Ciccotti looking west towards Oppido Lucano.

1.2 View looking north to Genzano.

PLATE 2

2.1 View from Masseria Ciccotti looking east to Gravina.

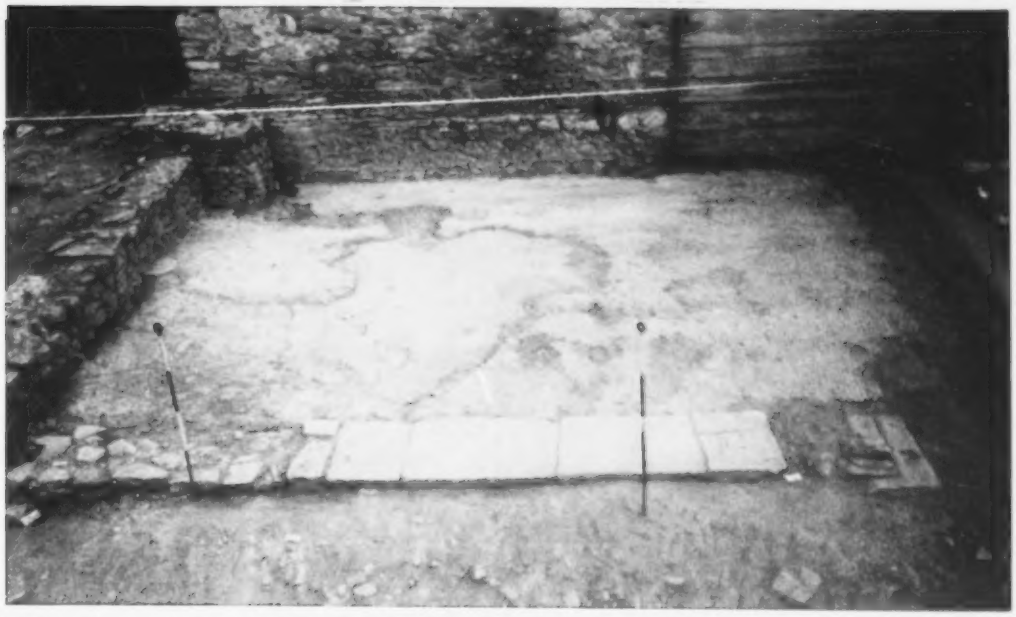
2.2 View from creek bed of the largest portion of terracing wall.

PLATE 3

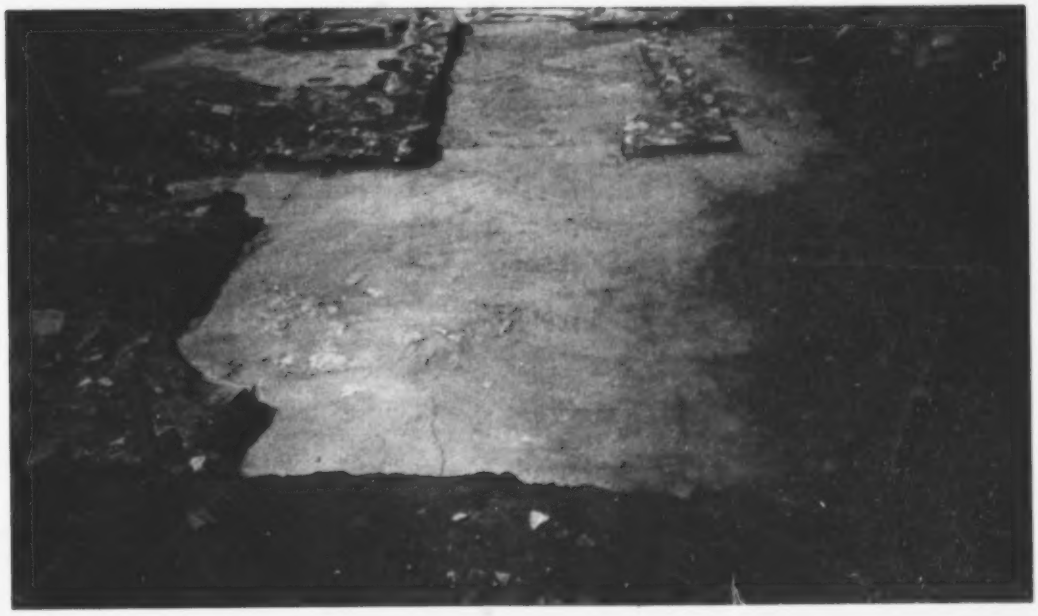
3.1 View of Fig. 3, Section A and Fig. 4 from the north.

3.2 View of Fig. 3, Section A and Fig. 4 (features 1-23) from the south.

PLATE 4



4.1 View of Room 8 from the south.



4.2 View of Room 14 (foreground) and Rooms 9 and 13 (background).